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TABLE II—*Concluded*

SUBJECT	ARTICLE AND SECTION	WHEN TO BE SUBMITTED
Courts—Circuit judges—One for each circuit (except in counties having population in excess of 85,000)	Sec. 7, Art. VII	To legislature 1923
Municipal corporations—Home Rule	Sec. 3, Art. XI	To people Nov. 1922
Forests—State may appropriate money not to exceed $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mill in any one year for preservation and development of	Sec. 10, Art. VIII	To legislature 1923
<i>Wyoming</i>		
Salary limits of certain county officers fixed	Sec. 3, Art. XIV	Nov. 1922
Boards of Land Commissioners consolidated	Sec. 13, Art. VII Sec. 3, Art. XVIII	Nov. 1922

Governors' Messages, 1922. In the "off" year the legislatures of eleven states regularly meet. The messages of the governors of these states have been examined with the exception of those of Louisiana and Georgia, where the lawmakers assemble in May and June respectively, and that of the retiring governor in Virginia. The messages of newly-elected Governors Hardwick and Morgan, of Georgia and West Virginia, respectively, delivered in July and March of last year are included. Special sessions have been held in at least two states, Nebraska and North Carolina. The message of the latter chief executive could not be obtained. The reading of the messages brings to light nothing of unusual interest. In fact, no striking common characteristic is discovered unless it be their stereotyped or ordinary nature. It is difficult to determine with satisfactory accuracy the relative attention devoted to various subjects in the messages as a whole. One might attempt a sort of mathematical calculation by measuring the page-inches or counting the lines or words, but this would hardly prove profitable. A consideration of the number of governors who mention a subject, in connection with the approximate amount of space devoted to it, will roughly indicate the average estimate of its importance.

As might be expected, taxation and expenditures are the subjects most frequently discussed. The governors of Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina are especially panicky regarding the state expenses. Governor Cooper of South Carolina returns to his attack of last year

on the general property tax and urges its total abolition as a source of state revenue, proposing the substitution of taxes on incomes, inheritances, petroleum products, occupations and privileges, luxuries, and hydro-electric power, and urging again a constitutional amendment permitting the classification of property for purposes of taxation. Georgia's governor intimates that the ad valorem property tax has broken down, and he would abandon such a tax to the city, substituting a graduated income tax through constitutional amendment. He would also equalize in one field the status of male and female by levying a poll tax on the new women voters. The governors of New York and Rhode Island believe that sources of state revenue other than the general property tax will keep pace with the needs of the states. Kentucky and West Virginia executives direct attention to the failure of the assessment of property for the general direct tax and call for measures of improvement especially on coal lands valuation, in the former state. The governor of Mississippi calls the privilege tax an awkward make-shift in raising revenue when the tax upon property is required by the constitution to be "uniform," and points out the inequality of basing the merchants' taxes on the values of their stocks and of taking from all lawyers an equal amount. In West Virginia and Georgia the limit of direct property taxation is asserted to have been revoked. The governors of Virginia, Nebraska, South Carolina, Mississippi, New Jersey, Georgia and Maryland recommend a tax on gasoline usually for road building and maintenance purposes. It is a favorite plea of several governors that the state takes a relatively small part of each dollar of tax money in comparison with the units of local government. Governor Trinkle of Virginia asserts that the local tax is three times the state tax, while the state returns to eighty-three of its hundred counties more than they pay. His concern over the laxity of county administration causes him to suggest the study of a county-manager plan as a substitute for the supervisor form of county government. He urges increased state supervision and an audit of local accounts by the state accountant at least once in ten years. He also advises the decrease in the tax rate on bonds and notes from \$1.10, to \$.50 per \$100. While Governor Trinkle notes the undesirability of levying a tax for a specific purpose, the governor of Mississippi would put the universities and colleges on a millage basis to free them from the constant dread of lack of funds.

Governor Miller of New York proposes an inquiry into the causes of the excessive costs of local government, as does Governor Cox of

Massachusetts, and at the same time announces a reduction of the direct state tax by twelve millions. Nebraska affords a striking instance of reduction: "The primary purpose for which the special session is called is to reduce the appropriations of the last regular session. Reductions in the property tax total \$2,735,805.85. This will enable the State Board of Equalization to reduce the general fund levy 40 per cent this year," begins Governor McKelvie's message to the special session, which carried out his request to the extent of over \$2,000,000. Governor Cox calls attention to the reduction last year in the amount of interest paid on loans in anticipation of taxes from \$200,000 to \$8000, which was accomplished by new methods of placing the state deposits and requiring the deposit of department funds with the state treasurer. Governor Miller notes a saving of \$300,000 in prospect through the elimination of unnecessary printing generally and superfluous matter in state reports especially. He suggests that the board of estimate and control break up the printing work so that competitive bids may be more readily made and asks that the state institutions do more of the state's printing.

Mississippi's governor favors the reduction of the salaries of county officers, claiming that many are more highly paid than the leading state officials. He urges fixed salary payment instead of fee payment, and thinks the tax assessor should be the most highly paid official. Kentucky's governor calls for the enforcement against county officers of the state constitutional provision that no public officer except the governor shall receive over \$5000 a year for his services. The governors of Virginia, Massachusetts, New York and Mississippi would establish new, or improve existing central purchasing agencies. Governor Miller pointed out that the three institutional groups, as well as the departments, use each its own methods. Forty-seven standard commodities purchased during the year actually cost \$317,793.54 more than if all had been purchased at the minimum price paid. In connection with the department of purchasing and supply as created, he thinks there should be an independent committee representative of each of the institutional groups, to prescribe standards and specifications.

The budget is becoming less of a political asset each year, and governors are compelled to talk results rather than simply denounce extravagance. In Kentucky, New York, Mississippi, Maryland, Virginia, Nebraska and Massachusetts, reference to the budget is made, crediting it with a large measure of successful operation, except in Mississippi, where only a sort of tentative scheme has been established,

adequate to show the advantage of careful analysis of public appropriations. Governor Miller advises a budget of two parts: one for current expenses and one for capital expenditures. He thinks the former can be shaped by assisting agencies so as to require little legislative attention, while the latter involves large questions of policy demanding ample consideration. The governor of Maryland submitted the budget and budget bill at the opening of the session instead of taking advantage of the twenty day period allowed by the constitution. Governor Trinkle urged legislators to bring speedily all departments and state institutions within the budget system and to compel all funds to go through the treasury. Governor Cox admits the impossibility of a satisfactory deflated budget in view of the state laws requiring various permanent expenditures.

Administrative reorganization receives continued attention. Kentucky's governor asks an appropriation to enable him to make a business survey of the state departments. Governor Miller forecasts the recommendations to be made as a result of surveys instituted by the board of estimate and control and advises lump-sum appropriations in recommended cases so that department heads may effect the suggested reorganizations. He would amend the constitution to permit the legislators to consolidate the department of public works, state engineer and surveyor's office department of highways, the state architect's office and the department of public buildings. Georgia's governor became eloquent. "During the war period a spirit of hysteria, a spirit of over-regulation, is equally inevitable, and growing out of this spirit, created by both the state and federal legislation, 'Boards,' 'Bureaus,' and 'commissions' infest the land. They constitute another Egyptian plague; they seek to regulate almost every activity of life. Most of these boards must go." He notes that the budget investigation commission reports 277 trustees in the university system alone and recommends a small board of regents instead; as well as a single board of control for state institutions. Governor Ritchie of Maryland urges the grouping of the present eighty state agencies into about twenty coördinated departments in carrying out the Democratic platform of 1921.

Governor Cox commends highly the report of the commission appointed to investigate the methods of transacting public business as "one of the most valuable contributions made to the commonwealth in years," and urges its most earnest study to meet one of the pressing needs of Massachusetts—a growing degree of administrative control and responsibility.

Public education receives comment in eight states. Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, after stating that "the demand has far outstripped the school facilities, resulting in half-day sessions and crowded high schools" continues: "This condition should not be looked upon with alarm or any misgivings; it should rather be looked upon as education of all the people is a costly enterprise encouraging and hopeful," although the per capita cost of education had increased by the amount of \$11.69 in one year to an average of \$63.82. Governor Morrow of Kentucky proposes a bond issue of \$5,000,000 in a very vigorous special message calling for the improvement of the state's charitable, penal and educational institutions.

West Virginia, Maryland, and Massachusetts governors touch on teachers' salaries; the two former to urge an increase and the latter to mention an increase in the average salary paid in the state from \$744 in 1910 to \$1486 in 1920. New York and Virginia governors urge different units for school administration; the former for the rural schools, the latter generally. Trinkle would make the county rather than the district the unit of operation. The improvement of rural schools, especially, was urged in New York, West Virginia and Rhode Island. Governor Cox announced with pride the increase of attendance in continuation schools from 8000 to 32,500 within a year and the instruction of 20,000 adults in the English language.

Improved highways were generally urged for their social and commercial value and their influence in preserving the rural life of the states. In Kentucky a bond issue of \$50,000,000 was advocated, which the governor called an investment in public business. New York's system, it is asserted, can be completed from current revenue. Governor Russell of Mississippi deplores the constitutional provision which places the jurisdiction of roads, ferries, and bridges solely in the hands of the supervisors of each county. He wishes the mapping out of a complete highway system to be placed exclusively under the state department of highways. Governor San Souci of Rhode Island approved a great increase of supervision over the operation of motor vehicles and a stricter regulation of their weights, dimensions and tire pressures along with a stringent anti-theft law. The spread of the acceptance of proper administrative principles is indicated in the request of Governor Trinkle that the governor be empowered to appoint a highway commissioner with four assistants; the commissioner in turn to appoint the engineer and the latter those who should work under him.

The governors of Kentucky, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia and Massachusetts commend the agricultural interests to the consideration

of the legislators; the first advises coöperative marketing; the second a bureau of markets and publicity to devise an outlet for the diversified products which the farmers are substituting for cotton. He thinks a system of warehouses and cold storage plants in almost every county will follow. Georgia's governor may alarm the rest of the world in his statement: "Nature has given to the southern states a great monopoly in the production of cotton but the final reward that should follow such a situation can never be fully realized until the southern cotton farmer makes cotton his surplus crop. You can then clothe the world on your own terms." Governor Trinkle advises coöperative buying, selling, and borrowing in a strong plea for economic justice for the farmer. The extension of the grading system to onions, tobacco and such products, is suggested by Governor Cox.

Labor and its problems do not receive the attention one might expect in these times of unemployment. However, seven governors consider it. Governor Edwards holds the problems of labor to be most serious. He comments critically on the practice of employers in seeking those judges who hold decided views against picketing in efforts to obtain injunctions. He asserts that strikers have been summoned out of localities where the disturbances occurred and some tried for contempt in another county. He is not averse to trial by jury in contempt cases. Governor Morgan of West Virginia meets the labor difficulties of the state with a discourse on "governments of law and not of men," on "press exaggeration and exploitation," and on "life liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He asserts that under our form of government there is no class distinction, and surmises that no doubt the legislature will correct the abuses of the private guard or detective system. Only Massachusetts and Rhode Island governors specifically mention unemployment, the former in proposing public works and public building construction, the latter in proposing the continuance of the state free employment office which last year placed four thousand men at a cost to the state of \$1 per placement. Georgia's governor says, "my own thought is that in the gradual and joint ownership by both capital and labor of the plants of industry the so-called labor problem will finally be solved."

In most of the states it was suggested that the provisions of the Shepard-Towner act be accepted. In Rhode Island the authorization of the state health board to employ full time health officers, county or otherwise, is urged. In Virginia active health organizations in each county were advocated wherever possible; and in Mississippi the gov-

ernor thinks every county should be made to provide an all-time health officer. In New York, Massachusetts and Maryland special preventive efforts were stressed as a means of dealing with the feeble-minded in order to avoid the necessity of institutionalizing them. Governor Morrow of Kentucky speaks of two thousand so-called pauper idiots scattered all over the state and given pensions of \$75 each annually. Governor Miller stressed the curative side in treating the insane, asking for an adequate field force and an expert alienist. For the prisons, he requested an industrial manager and a system of compensating prisoners for their work. Maryland's governor announces the adoption of the state-use system in prison labor instead of the contract labor system and Governor Cox urges state control of county penal institutions at least to an extent sufficient to secure coöperative, uniform management, and assert that the state should care completely for all convicts in order to promote the possibility of productive employment, vocational training, educational facilities, psychiatric examination, adequate exercise, uniformity in diet and discipline, a proper system of parole and adequate classification.

Governor Russell demands stringent publicity for campaign expenditures and the registration of any agent or worker for particular candidates. From Georgia comes a somewhat belated advocacy of a real, rigid, Australian ballot law to end vote buying. Strict enforcement of the registration law is urged in the hope that women can be permitted to vote without re-opening the negro question politically or admitting an influx of negro women to the electorate. Governor Miller reports that gross frauds occur each year in registration and in the canvass of votes, and would compel the use of voting machines in first- and second-class cities. Governor Morgan announces the existence of a marked sentiment against the present primary system which both the major parties have disapproved. Governor Ritchie of Maryland proposes an amendment giving Baltimore two additional senators and twelve additional delegates. Legal equality for women is urged in Kentucky, Maryland and Massachusetts, at least as far as political rights are involved. Governor Cox, after stating that the right to hold office cannot be given women by constitutional amendment until 1924, proposes to ask the supreme judicial court whether the spirit and proposal of the Nineteenth Amendment have not given women the right to hold all offices under the constitution of Massachusetts.

Governor Miller, noting the 4166 judicial officers and the 3736 justices of the peace in the state who possess power to commit children as

public charges, and the 1238 county, town, or city offices with juvenile jurisdiction, urges the creation of children's courts in all counties outside of New York City and provision for county boards of child welfare. Governor San Souci proposes public aid for dependent mothers and Governor Edwards the enactment of more stringent labor laws for women. References to proposals of similar legislation are made in Virginia and Maryland.

In the field of law enforcement Governor Edwards urges the abolition of the state police force, for which \$300,000 had been appropriated the past year. Kentucky's governor asks the legislature to authorize him to remove local peace officers for neglect of duty, since the present method of removal on conviction of malfeasance or misfeasance is absolutely ineffectual. He would also make it unlawful to injure another person with a pistol or other weapon carried concealed, even though the action is taken in self-defence. In Virginia, repeal is advised for a law of 1920 granting appeal as a matter of right in every criminal case, regardless of its merits. The results have been very objectionable.

Prohibition-enforcement was mentioned in six states. Governor Edwards advocated the repeal of the present enforcement act so that the right of indictment and trial by jury might be conserved.

Mississippi and Virginia are much concerned over insurance rates. According to Governor Russell the insurance companies in Mississippi returned a total property value of \$1,675,000 for taxation and at the same time asked for a rate increase based on an investment of \$7,307,000 in the business; the insurance premiums totaled \$6,500,000 and the fire losses \$2,500,000. Governor Ritchie hints at the state conduct of fire insurance as a sort of last resort in case the companies will not give proper service. Governor Edwards wishes Congress to deprive the federal district courts of the power to hear on appeal utility cases decided by the state authorities, allowing the Supreme Court alone to entertain an appeal from the court of last resort in each state. Advocates of public merchandising may be interested in Governor Russell's advice that the state lime plants be closed because of prohibitive freight rates, and the suggestion of Governor Hardwick of Georgia that the \$540,000 annual interest from the state railroad (the Western and Atlantic) might have to be discounted to meet current needs. The conservative Governor Miller fears the pressure which could be brought to bear for the leasing of water power from the state canal and would substitute for leasing the state's development and sale of this power. He also believes that the state should grant licences preferably for

the distribution of power derived from the state water rather than for its private use.

Regarding canals Governor Edwards states that the Morris Canal has outlived its usefulness; and Governor Miller after showing that \$167,000,000 have been expended on the state barge canal, insists that this expenditure must be made to render some adequate service by means of modern equipment and a campaign of education on the advantages of using the canal.

Some miscellaneous proposals are worth recording. Governor Russell would make the acceptance of a fee in a pardon case a criminal offence, partly because of the dangerous political influence frequently brought to bear by the prisoner's attorneys. Both the Massachusetts and Rhode Island governors urge the establishment of emergency funds to be used under the governor's direction between sessions. Governor Russell, referring to a petition circulated in behalf of the insurance companies says "it has been signed by men, women and children, (and some negroes) indiscriminately." The governor of Maryland early in his message enumerates the specific pledges of his party platform to the number of twelve and adds "as will be shown in detail, every one of these pledges is carried out to the letter in bills which will be submitted to you."

Rhode Island's governor urges the legislature to restrict rent profiteering, to provide a judicial determination of fair rent, to allow a stay of judgment of six months in a landlord's suit to recover possession of rented premises, and to make oppressive agreements unenforceable. In a special message Governor Miller approved the plan of the port authority for New York; at the same time denouncing the obstructive tactics of the New York City officials who have proposed that the 105 municipalities included within the port district be erected into a new state. Declaratory judgments are approved by the governor of Kentucky. One of Governor Russell's flights of oratory follows: "It was descent unlooked for, swift and tragic in the extreme, but an empire that went through the fire and brimstone of the Civil War and had risen phoenix like from the ashes of her wars, arose and shook herself like a sleeping giant, took new courage and began the year 1921 with a firm and steady step and a grim determination to profit by the experience of the tragic year 1920, and the result was they accomplished at least two wonderful achievements."

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